1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

775 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there
763 she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long
787 white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

576 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

715 The land of the dead, No'lĭskăn,[182] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kĕmū'kŭmps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kĕmū'kŭmps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are
[825] unnatural in that they are hot.[183] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross

[182] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'lana, departed for ——; nutanots, soul leaves; teō'kăn, service berry land; tă'stikan, country of the Shasta.

[262] [183] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

539 What is coming out of my mouth? Black substance is hanging down from my mouth (158, 56).
What do I suck [bite] out? The disease I am sucking out[213] (155, 17).

I have recorded several songs the use of which I do not know. A shaman's song is about a mythical hero, Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os, who is represented as singing.

ga'no wawi'awŏk
I am Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os.

Nancy dreamed a song about the pole and pendant (wa"lasdŭ'pka) which stands before a shaman's earth-lodge.

wa"li'sasa nos nos
shaman's pole I I
nisowa'lis tu'ntani
shaman's pole hanging on.
I am the pole and the cord hangs from me.

[821] The rainbow is the spirit of Wīle'aḳaḳ, Dwarf Old Woman. In a song she says that she swallows it like a sword.

wīle'aḳaḳni	wīle'aḳaḳni	stŏ'ngi	wī"tĕliŏḳ
Dwarf Old Woman	something long	swallowed	rainbow

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

128 In addition to omens and miscellaneous beliefs that have no proper place elsewhere in this account I have resuméd below all cases of beliefs which have their setting in the social and economic life of these people. I have not repeated here beliefs touched on in other parts of this section on shamanism.

763 The omens of death or disaster are varied. The thrush tells of an approaching enemy: wī'mpis ɛge'pkwa, they are coming. The horned owl also warns; mm, mm, mm, kŏkdɛlŏ'n skiu'kĭu, who sent me? Or he predicts: ma'ḳlaḳs gɛlĕḳ gɛlĕḳ gɛlĕḳ, someone will die. Gatschet recorded similar constructions of the call of a crow, the howling of coyote or dog, a cat's mewing, or a hen's clamor just after sunset.[214] One may suggest that these associations are derived from the association of the sunset with the land of the dead which lies in the west. On the other hand the call of the loon at early dawn is a sign that someone will kill another. Yet this may really be a case in point, for then the general association would be with any night cry, since night is the time when the dead arise and roam.

[213] Chorus while the shaman bites and sucks the patient.
[214] 1:88, 133.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

*171 755 been able to discover. At any rate, I note it for Achomawi-Atsugewi and Shasta, as well as Klamath. Following the usual shamanistic seance the Klamath shaman searches the vicinity for the malevolent spirit. He rushes about until he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. Several men must support him by the arms and restrain him until he can destroy it in water. The Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman forces the disease out of the ground by his power and then seizes it. He staggers about in his effort to hold it until he can plunge it into water. He then swallows or burns it, or dispatches it to kill its sender. The Shasta erect a shaman's pole at the affected spot. The shaman dances, calling on her spirit to dislodge the disease "pains" from the ground. "If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them." Certain features of a Chinook cure are like these. When their shaman has taken a disease from a sick man, he must be held by several men to overcome the strength of the disease spirit, until he can plunge it into water.[601] The destruction of an extracted disease by placing it in water is a common feature among Washington tribes. I have seen it, for example, as part of a cure by members of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers among the Skokomish and learned that it occurred among the Okanagon.

Various Beliefs

*171 763 756 821 I have a somewhat random series of analogues of Klamath beliefs. The Klamath hold that a storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned. The Northern Maidu hold that it thunders at once when a great man dies, and inasmuch as the most important individuals of the Maidu are shamans, it is clear that this is a comparable belief. The Thompson have it that the death or burial of a person causes an immediate change in the weather; that of a shaman, a sudden and extreme change. The death of a Wind River Shoshoni causes a whirlwind.

*171 821 844 These beliefs are apparently a single expression of a more general belief that both births and deaths are signaled by a change in the weather. For example, the Klamath also hold that it always blows at a woman's first parturition. Analogous to this the Wishram say that extreme weather marks a birth. Further, a rainbow points to the spot where the birth takes place. The latter belief at least is

[601] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Shasta, 487; Boas, Chinook Texts, 208.

000 Eclipses; star lore.--

4558. SW: Solar eclipses only; "don't know anything about lunar eclipses."

4559. NP: New sun (woman) coming out.

4568. Mo: Tell Frog to doctor moon.

4569. AW: Old women only go out and chant to sun or moon during eclipse; "tell sun's, moon's own dog not to eat him."

4570. Bitches only.

4573. WM, WS: Cover food because sun is going to bleed.

4574. WS, NM: So they cannot see eclipse.

4575. SE: People afraid they are going to freeze to death. NM, NS: Build fire.

4577. SE, AW, MM: Sign of war. WS: Sign of bad weather.

4578. If large stars fall. Mo, SE, NP, NM, NS: Sign man living in direction star falls has died, or will die. AW: Sign of earthquake; denied for all other groups except SW, At. NP: Falling stars (sa·to) are "just like turkeys, coming down from sky to spring to drink, their head 1 way, tail the other. Come down into ground, just like sun; then they're gone. Sign of lots of sickness. If 2 large stars come down, sign of war starting."

[78 7
82 1] 4579. If small stars fall.

4585. Kl, Mo: White river. Kl: Canes grow on both sides of river, which forks near one end. NM: Creek.

4587. WS, NP, NS: If boys 6-7 look at it during any time of year, will give them bad luck for hunting later.

4588. NP, NS: All girls; would give them bad luck; spirit would frighten them in night. Cf. Voegelin, Tubatulabal, p. 58, people forbidden to count stars.

[821
763] 4589. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Sign of death of adult. SE: "When catches up to moon, sign world will end." SW: "Moon is listening [to star]; therefore someone is saying evil things about person, or will make trouble for person." At: "If star to left of moon, someone near by will die; if to right, person far off. AW: If star very close to moon, death will occur soon. WM: Sign of cold weather.

Rainbow.--

4591. Mo, AW, AE: See note 4592. WM: Sign suckers (fish) calling clouds to make it rain, because girl just after she has had first menstruation is walking close to river or spring "where she ought not to go." After clouds leave, rainbow appears. NP, NM, NS: If end of rainbow falls near village, this is sign that girl there has recently menstruated for first time.

4592. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow close to where girl dancing at puberty dance, unlucky for menstruant. Negatives for this trait obtained from all other groups except SW, At (not inquired into). Mo: If menstruant dreams of rainbow, sign evil spirit is trying to get her. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow near by when baby is born, mother will be un-

000 such shaman probably had power from clouds, or rain; could also cause rain.

5117. SW: "Down-river they [Karuk] pay a person for making rain; Shasta don't."

5119. WS: First doctor may make rain, second make it snow, in summertime.

[756 821 762]

5122. Kl, Mo: Also when shaman is cremated. Mo: Also, once in awhile, at spot where shaman has been cremated, person may see fire; whoever sees this will die.

Rattlesnake shamans; grizzly bear shamans; money finders.--

5123. SW: Recognized, but with qualifications (see note 4853). NP: "When snake sees a doctor (yomin maidû) it lies down and dies; it never chases him. Once in awhile snake bites common man."

5134. AE: "Have to have power from Buzzard to cure rattlesnake bites; Buzzard eats rattlesnake."

5135. SE: Ordinary person can protect self against snake bites by putting crushed haliotis inside moccasin. At: Ordinary persons wear turtle shell suspended from belt, to protect themselves against being bitten by snakes.

5146. SW: Woman goes about to houses in village, doctors small children's moccasins by singing these songs, so children will not be bitten by rattlesnakes. Denied for SE.

5149. WS: Large snake emerges first, when songs sung; "he's the boss snake"; after snakes are talked to, this large snake is first to return to hole. Shaman not paid to do this.

5151a. Among all groups, bear shamans always impersonate grizzly bear (Ursus horribilus), never black or brown bear (Ursus americanus).

5160. MW: If man bitten by grizzly, shaman summoned; latter takes patient short distance away from camp and builds small fire; then shaman sings and digs up acorns, roots, ant eggs and puts them in small piles--these disappear at once. Shaman then sucks out blood and bear teeth from patient.

5163. WT, NS: Belief strong that shaman really turns into bear, does not merely simulate bear.

5170. AW: Spirit from yellow jacket, fly, coyote. AE: Spirit from (Indian) dog.

Witchcraft

Black magic.--

5183. NS: Love medicine lacking, but have belief that, if person carries seeds of a certain plant which grows in old graveyard, this person will have good luck. Must be careful when carrying these seeds not to go in front of people, children especially; seeds will make child, or even adult, faint.

5184. WS: For revenge, jilted suitor gets piece of girl's hair, talks to it and puts it in an evil sacred spot (saust); "if he doesn't know how to do this right, girl will die in 2 days.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

Klamath (Jan. 8, 1871); J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January.

4. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (March 8, 1871), report for February. See also Zakoji (1953), pp. 63–64. The fear of sub-chief Palmer, dying of consumption, that his body might be violated by a post-mortem autopsy, is expressive of the distrust with which the physician was sometimes regarded. O. C. Applegate to Captain D. J. Ferree (May 6, 1871); Ferree to Applegate (May 8, 1871). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

5. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 199.

6. Dave Hill in Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 59, 62; his wife: Appendix below. It is an interesting commentary upon the relativity of viewpoint, that during Hill's disappearance from the lecture troupe, A. B. Meacham, brother of the Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, resorted to spiritualistic mediums in an effort to locate him. Meacham (1876), pp. 95 ff.

7. Henry Blow: "Tyee Blowe of Klamath on Doctors," Samuel A. Clarke ms.; Archives, University of Oregon Library, source as well for the quotation of p.5; Doctor John: Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 64–68. The identification of the Susie of Gatschet with H. N.'s Aunt Sally is made by Zakoji (1953), p. 62. The letter of Allen David to Dave Hill and the reply of Skookum Doctor, reproduced in the Appendix, provide a direct illustration of Indian views of that period.

8. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 1, 1881), report for preceding December.

9. Lindsay Applegate to [Judge James C.] Toleman (Feb. 1, 1883). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

10. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1878–79), Vol. 9, Pt. 5, 611.

11. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 1, 1881), report for September.

12. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), pp. 200 ff.

13. Joseph Emery to W. W. Wilson, Supt. Yainax School (Feb. 5, 1897; March 13, 1897).

14. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 258.

15. O. C. Applegate to Henry Jackson (Sept. 6, 1899); in *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 56th Cong., 1st sess., H. R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1899–1900), Vol. 18, 313. Nash (1937), p. 147, erroneously sets the event at about 1906.

16. Nash (1937), p. 431. The preceding material is summarized from pp. 412–35.

17. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. (Nov. 6, 1872; June 7, 1873; June 16, 1873); in *Report* . . . , U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 773 825 823 text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

133, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Note* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

*539 825 787 763 Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k'lékuapksht tchō'k; tχu'-
Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; pre-

tχuk pákluipka. 3
saging he howls.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la púshish hä'masht i-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma;
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews;

tchîkî'n tchish hä'masht i-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchēk hä'ma. Wátchag
the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death them it crows. The dog

tchî'sh wawá-a i-unégshtka, kú-i tchämlûk. 6
also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

*539 [682] Watság tchî'shtat tχótχa i-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa máklaks, gû'lki ngé-
A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds

isha at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchō'χa, ká-i hûnk
and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him

shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk 9
kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking

ktsî'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna híssuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a
ears, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quite and

tsä'wik.
is demanded

*539
763
[115]

WAILINGS AT THE APPROACH OF THE FATAL HOUR.

GIVEN BY DOCTOR JOHN, OR KÁGASH, IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

"Ngä'-ish a ni tä'lẋapksh, gé-u tä'lak, shlín antsa; shkék antsa nû'sh,
"An arrow me striking, my arrow, shot they; they broke (my) head,
shlín nish. Kán ish shlín? Tsuyä'sh ni shlín, gén ish tsuyä'sh mpáta,
they shot me. Who me shot? Through the cap I was struck, this me cap kills,
3 másha n'sh, shlín ish nû'sh, ḵá-a n's mä'sh', guhuá nish, a nish ḵá-a mä'sha!
it pains me, they shot me in the head, intensely me it pains, am swollen I, now me hard it pains!

Pásh ish shéwan i; ḵ'lékuapkan pánuk; pálak shéwan i, a nish ḵá-a mä'sha,
Food me give you; I will die after eating; quickly give you, me very hard it pains,
tiä'matk ḵá-a, pálak shä'wan i." At shéwana nû, at pán; shnuk' át mí'dsû.
(I am) hungry very, quickly give you." And give (him) I, and he eats; he takes now the spoon.
6 "At ḵ'léka, átĕni ḵ'léka; tsía at, ḵ'leká taks nû; shlín nish nû'shtat.
"Now I expire, now I die; I live yet, dying but (am) I; they shot me in the head.
[764] A ni ḵ'léka, ä'tĕni ḵ'lekála." At ḵ'leká. Shû'dsha lúluksla sa lû'lokshtat
Now I die, now I am sinking fast." Then he dies. Kindle a fire (and) cremate they in the fire
hû'nk ḵ'lékapksh.
the deceased man.

NOTES.

*539
763
192

This short incident of war is full of the most dramatic interest, and gives some idea of the oratorial powers of the average Indian. It was obtained from a man who undoubtedly had witnessed more than one similar scene during the numerous raiding expeditions made by his tribe before the conclusion of the treaty in 1864.

138, 1. ngä'-ish a ni tä'lẋapksh shlín antsa, forms of the conversational language standing for ngä'-ish a nish tälẋápksh shlín a sha. gé-u tä'lak "my arrow," a poetic symbolism for the arrow that causes my death.

138, 1. shkék antsa for shkéka a sha, but nasalized like shlín antsa. Shkéka properly means to pierce, but is used in a medial sense.

138, 2. mpáta properly means to dry up by heat. The cap or hat is said here to kill the man by exciting an intolerable fever heat within him.

[193] 138, 3. mä'sha n'sh. Some impersonal verbs can also assume the personal form of intransitive verbs: mä'sha nû and mä'sha nish: "it pains me"; kédahika nû and nish: "I feel tired". The Modoc dialect prefers the personal form.

138, 6. 7. atĕni for at a ni. Cf. sĕ, 82, 4. tchä'lẋet 90, 11. átĕnish, atĕni 90, 12. 13. gĕ'ntĕni, *Note* to 93, 7. 9.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors, the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals, while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there. For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two, reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away, he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too, the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter, the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed among western tribes.

But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-